

PEACE NEWS

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Where Russia may be right

IT is said that Mr. Bevin was especially shocked that the conference of Foreign Ministers failed utterly to take any steps to cope with the appalling situation existing throughout most of Europe. We also are shocked, but we are not, as Mr. Bevin is, surprised. Who can have doubted that Russia and her satellites intended utterly to destroy Germany if they got the chance? And who cannot have realized that the destruction of Germany means immeasurable suffering for Europe?

The immediate aftermath of the collapse of the London Conference is that, "by agreement" with Marshal Zhukov, 4½ million more Germans are to be expelled from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Bevin was an influential member of the Government which consented to the original "settlement" under which these horrors are perpetrated. He can say, if he wishes, that he had no idea that this is what it

Observer's Commentary

really meant. But he should have known; still more should Mr. Churchill. History will be ruthless in its judgment of the irresponsibility of British policy during the war.

Balkan "democracy"

THE real question on which the London conference was wrecked was whether USA and Britain are to endure all that Russia has been doing in Eastern Europe. What Russia has been doing falls into two categories: the treatment of Germany and Austria and the treatment of other countries. Both alike are indefensible in that her action has been taken without consultation or agreement with her Allies. But there is substantial justification for her behaviour in the second case; which seems to me totally lacking in the first. The brutal expulsion of millions of Germans from Poland and Sudetenland is nothing but an act of horrible vengeance. Since Russian policy does nothing on impulse, one must assume that it is calculated, and that the intention is to destroy the German people. The policy is barbaric and inhuman; and it has shocked the Western world.

To trample down the conquered in this gruesome fashion is one thing; to set up non-democratic governments in

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

THE CRISIS OF MANKIND

IN their striving for victory the Allies created in Germany such devastation and destruction of the foundations of society as industrial Europe has never known. The proportion of their available strength that they must now devote to the mere cancelling out of what they themselves have done is perilously high. The danger is that there may ultimately be a war after which the continuing momentum of decay is too great to be balanced even by the entire strength of the victors—that is, that the progress towards a final

"TRY TO STOP IRREPARABLE DISASTER NOW!"

London meeting demands that the expulsions cease

"TAKE SUCH MEASURES AS MAY PREVENT IRREPARABLE DISASTER!" THIS WAS THE KEY PHRASE IN A DETAILED RESOLUTION FOLLOWING UP "SAVE EUROPE NOW" WHICH WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY A PACKED INVITATION AUDIENCE AT THE CONWAY HALL, LONDON, ON MONDAY LAST.

The meeting was chaired by Mr. Victor Gollancz, and over 40 Labour, Liberal and Independent MPs were among the audience. An overflow meeting, chaired by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, MP, crowded into the Holborn Hall.

The main resolution, which was moved by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, MP, recorded "grave anxiety" at "the appalling conditions" throughout Europe. In "re-affirming the principles of humanity for which our country has always stood, and upon which alone a peaceful united and happy Europe can be built," it urged six specific courses on the Government.

These included: (1) Stop the expulsions from Eastern Europe; (2) concert an inter-allied policy for the reception of those already expelled; (3) get the Ruhr mines working again—partly by providing adequate rations for the miners and their families; (4) mobilize all transport; (6) establish a Supreme Economic Council.

The text of the demands are given in an adjoining column. The fifth point—release of our reserve stocks—is elaborated by Roy Walker in an article below.

The resolution, which was seconded by Miss Barbara Ward, also asked the Prime Minister to receive a deputation to discuss it.

A second resolution, moved by the Bishop of Chichester, asked, in addition, for the Government to sponsor a practicable voluntary scheme

SPEAKERS' POINTS

GERMAN refugees who had been told to move on had spent five days in the queue at the Anhalter Station, Berlin, said Mr. Gerald Gardiner, the leader of the FAU, in the British zone. Some people had died waiting and so great was the congestion that their wretched neighbours did not realise for some days that their bodies, which had slumped to the ground, were corpses.

"Belsen conditions of mass deaths through starvation or disease ought not to occur, whether in concentration camps under German control or in occupied territories under Allied control."

Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, MP, said the present crisis called for inter-Allied action. In the first place the expulsions from Poland and Czechoslovakia must stop for this winter at least. This will give a breathing space in which the whole policy can be reviewed.

The Russians and the Americans, said Miss Barbara Ward, might contemplate the vast human slum that the pastoralization of Germany will create, because they control powerful and self-contained economies. But Britain, France and the Low Countries will rise or fall with the restoration of a reasonable economy in Central Europe.

Our huge food stocks

by ROY WALKER

"THE GREATEST UNALLOCATED SUPPLY OF FOOD IN THE WORLD"

THAT description of the civilian food reserves of the United Kingdom was attributed in March to responsible American officials. And, as the News Chronicle then reminded us, "monthly figures of British food production, stocks, imports and consumption are regularly made available to the American Government." Although the war was still going on, the Manchester Guardian urged the Government "to make public the facts about rations and available reserves and supplies." A few weeks ago, after hostilities ceased, the Ministry of Food again refused to do so. American officials are told. Why not the British public?

Some of the basic facts are obtainable. Last autumn a New York paper published Mr. Byrnes' report to President Roosevelt, giving figures which the British press, apart from

Peace News, has never published. Byrnes declared that reserve stocks for the civilian population of the United Kingdom were no less than 5,500,000 tons, and that in normal times the reserve was only 1,500,000 tons.

"If, after Victory-in-Europe Day this stock should be fixed at 3,500,000 tons, it will leave 2,000,000 available for relief. This will, of course, affect only the size of the reserve stocks and not the food available for current consumption in Britain."

In March it was revealed that Byrnes estimate was too low—or that British stocks had grown still further. Mr. Churchill told Parliament on March 22 that our stocks were "rather less than 6,000,000 tons."

"They are in process of being reduced, by aid to the liberated countries, to about 4,750,000 tons by the end of June. This latter figure is no more than is necessary to maintain a regular flow of distribution under present conditions."

No news of reductions

Two months later came VE-Day. But there is no suggestion that British stocks have been reduced to 3,500,000 tons or anything like it. They may even be larger than the June figure; it is not clear how much of the food sent from British stocks was "advanced" under replacement stipulations coming into force later this year. The difference between 4,750,000 and 3,500,000 is one and a quarter million tons.

If Byrnes was right we can send that to Europe this winter without reducing the food available for current consumption in Britain. Of the 10-12,000,000 tons of food imports need to supplement supplies to Europe in the next year, these islands could now contribute a tenth.

Why has the new Government not done this? Do these huge reserves make ration cuts unnecessary and individual sacrifices redundant? The Government must answer—but we may speculate that British policy on

"SAVE EUROPE NOW"

Below are the first five points of the resolution referred to in the next column:

1. To negotiate with the Russian, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments with a view to stopping the expulsion of Germans from their homes in Eastern Europe forthwith and throughout the winter, and to develop an agreed inter-allied policy on this subject before the spring;
2. To concert with the American and French authorities an immediate common policy for the reception into their respective zones of such numbers of those already expelled as can be housed and fed in view of the existing commitments of the Western Powers to their own peoples and to the liberated countries;
3. In view of the crucial importance of the Ruhr coal mines for the economy of the whole of Western Europe, to concert plans with the French, Dutch and Belgian Governments for increasing production by all possible means, including the provision of adequate rations for the miners and their families, the production of railway rolling stock, track, etc., and, for the purpose of stimulating production, the allotment of a proportion of the output for German household needs;
4. To mobilize all available motor vehicles, whether British, American or German, to break the transport bottleneck;
5. To use the civilian and military reserves of food and other resources which can now be released owing to the termination of hostilities (together with the necessary cargo shipping and in conjunction with the United States of America) for the urgent needs of the various populations.

Here is the text of the second resolution:

While insisting that irreparable disaster in Europe, involving perhaps the death by starvation of millions of human beings, can be averted only by decisions of policy, we nevertheless most urgently desire that an opportunity should be given for voluntary effort to succour those who are even now in grievous distress: and taking note that tens of thousands have already responded to the "Save Europe Now" appeal, and have expressed their willingness to forgo part of their rations for the relief of men, women and children of whatever nationality, we call upon His Majesty's Government to sponsor a practicable scheme, on a voluntary basis.

food reserves aims at insuring the present British standard for the next two or three years. To part with a million tons now and leave the ration standard intact might shorten the term of that insurance by something like twelve months.

But surely if the facts are such as we have quoted, we must make our contribution and face with the hungry countries the problems of sharing future overseas supplies — always remembering that our present system of Empire preferences (as popular now with Socialist as formerly with Tory) puts Britain in a favoured position for securing food as well as other supplies. Nevertheless the normal consumer should be ready to face slight cuts now, to extend the "insurance" or increase the immediate relief, or cuts later when our stock position is down to something like normal proportions.

Whether or not the present British Government shares the stocks with starving Europe this winter largely depends on the proportions of the public demand to "Save Europe Now" backed by willingness to accept sacrifices. Voluntary schemes are a necessary test of individual sincerity; they cannot in themselves produce an adequate British contribution to the problem. Nor for that matter can the larger Governmental steps of tighter rationing and sharing of reserve stocks. Political action on population movements in Central Europe, utilization of military reserves and transport, and similar fundamental problems must be a vital concern for all who are determined to take responsible action to mitigate what is already a human disaster of the first magnitude.

HAVE YOU TRIED HOUSMAN'S ?

THERE are many who will see nothing more than a new Bookshop when Housman's, Ltd., opens in the Autumn: another shop to add to the many that already cluster round the Charing Cross Road area of London: a new star in an already crowded firmament. But there is a deep significance in this new expression of pacifist activity — a significance related to the revolutionary change in the political world that has so dramatically thrown up a Labour Government in this country.

THE same yearning which inspired the impetus at the election is to be found in this steadily increasing demand for books over the last few years. Inside the Peace Pledge Union this demand has made the present premises quite inadequate for the task. Dick Sheppard House lies in a back-water and has no stream of passing traffic; there is no window to the world, and most of the trade is done by post: even so it is a very large trade.

HOUSMAN'S represents the inevitable yielding to the pressure from within—a desire to serve that larger demand that is coming from the restless unsatisfied spirit of people desiring to know the Truth and to be free. We shall seek to satisfy that demand, not by setting up a stall of pacifist literature, but by establishing a first-class Bookshop selling all that is best in pacifist thought side by side with a wide and carefully selected stock of other books.

SUCCESS in the first place depends on the support given by members of the Peace Pledge Union. It is not always easy to change the habits of years—especially when it entails the effort of writing a letter or a postcard. But we are asking all who normally read Peace News to transfer their custom from the railway-bookstall and the local "chain" shops to HOUSMAN'S. In return we shall offer you a personal service from fellow members—experienced in the book-trade—and a Bookshop that is fully stocked and aims at becoming worthy of our movement. When your friends tell you that they cannot get a book they need, please remember to say:

"Have You Tried Housman's?"

John Barclay

FROM time to time, some statement made in the papers or at the cinema suddenly casts a blinding illumination upon the moral chaos of our time, revealing for an instant the stage which has been reached in the reversal of the values of Christendom. That reversal, proceeding steadily and ever faster behind the smokescreen of prayers and propaganda, seems now to be practically complete.

In Reynolds News, I read the report of a speech by one of the French Resistance leaders: "Our people fought for France, for a new France... today, if there is to be a scramble for advantages by the Powers, they will not allow France to be the Christ among the nations!"

It is hardly possible to go farther than that. If this particular phrase were not proof that we had reached our destination, the fact that it meets with no ripples of resistance in the

PAMPHLETS YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN

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SCIENCE, WISDOM AND WAR

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Humanity - now

A MEETING at Conway Hall, convened by Mr. Victor Gollancz on Monday last, to give new impetus and definition to the Save Europe Now movement, unanimously passed the resolutions printed on our front page to which we invite our readers' careful attention.

It was a remarkable gathering, with a platform and audience which could fairly be described as representative of British humanity and idealism. Among a number of impressive speeches two stood out by their singleness of vision and the simplicity of their moral challenge. They spoke to the heart of the audience. One was the final appeal of Mr. Victor Gollancz: the other the description by Mr. Gerald Gardiner (of the FAU) of the refugees in Berlin.

Germany is becoming a vast Belsen. The little German shopkeeper is told that he ought to have known of conditions at Belsen, and to have done something about it, under the Nazi tyranny. What shall our condemnation be, who do know of conditions in Germany, if we do nothing about them, who live under a democracy?

The response of the meeting to these two challenges gave one the feeling that the movement may spread quickly and so kindle the conscience of the nation as a whole that the Government must act. There is no reason to suspect that the Government will not positively welcome the pressure of public opinion.

But we must not deceive ourselves. What is gravely to be doubted—above all in view of the breakdown of the London Conference and the announcement that Marshal Zhukov has agreed to the expulsion of a further 4½ million Germans from next week onwards—is whether any agreement between the nations on a concerted policy of minimum humanity is now attainable. Only if the expulsions are suspended forthwith is there the certainty of avoiding immeasurable and unspeakable disaster. If the expulsions continue, nothing can prevent

the miserable refugees crowding across from the Russian zone into the British zone and causing the breakdown of the still precarious, but above starvation conditions that have been established there.

That is true. But the situation is now such that it is idle to reckon the risk of ultimate failure. Britain must do her utmost immediately where and how she can. Even a million enemy lives saved would be a victory which may have consequences incalculable for the future. This country must be ready to act quickly and, very likely, alone. Some witness must be given that the spirit of humanity survives in this terrible world of abstraction and barbarism, wherein masses of human beings are being condemned to misery and death with a ruthlessness even more sinister than that of the Nazis, because it springs from a victory over Nazism.

This is the basic horror of the situation. It is no comfort at all—indeed the very opposite—to know that in the pages of this disregarded journal we continually foretold that this would be the consequence of waging warfare against totalitarianism by totalitarian methods. Like Faust in the legend, this country made its compact with the Devil, and he now exacts the price: in making us the unwilling instruments of an intensification of the barbarity which we thought to destroy. In a predicament so fearful nothing but sacrifice—from the nation, and the individual—can avail to turn back the tide of diabolism, which will else wholly engulf us. Unless we are prepared to obey the impulse of humanity now, whatever the risk, whatever the calculation of possible failure, we have no argument left against those who believe that millions of God's creatures may be done to death in order that an idea may prevail.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

New Gods for old

by F. A. LEA

minds of hearers or readers would show sufficiently, that the ideology of Power has triumphed. Power is God now—and the figure of the crucified Christ has become the symbol of unrelieved failure.

UNCHALLENGED IDOL

Not since Christianity entered the Roman Empire has this idol reigned so completely unchallenged over Europe as it does today. There is justice, but no consolation, in the fact that those parties who worship it openly are those who will win its rewards. For, if the State is invariably right, we need no priesthood to tell us the fact: and the Churches, which have told us nothing else, have not gained, but lost, the allegiance of men by their manoeuvres.

The Churches have angled for power, and power has swallowed them up. For when, in the past six years, has a single one uncompromisingly resisted a measure of "national security"? It has become a matter for surprise and almost for admiration when this or that high ecclesiastic abstains from actually justifying an atrocity. The filthy cruelties of the Gestapo and R.A.F. were never exercised against the Vatican—because there was not the slightest need.

Had a single Church declared, "Thus far and no further," and stuck to its declaration, it might, in these years of darkness, have been as a light set upon a hill. It never happened. Once only, in the very early days of the War, an unrepre-

sentative body of Anglicans on The Christian News-Letter proclaimed that in no circumstances could indiscriminate bombing be justified: they ate their words the moment bombing became the policy of the Anglican State. From that time until this, the Churches of every denomination have taken care not to eat their words again—by uttering no word that need be eaten. We never hoped—it was hopeless to hope—that a Church should call on England to be the Christ among the nations; but the Churches have seen to it that England should not even be the Cromwell.

FEARFUL VINDICATION

Our belief, that once war is supported, every restriction on method is cast to the winds, has been confirmed more completely than we feared. As a result, there is no single body in Europe to which those who reject the idolatry of Power can look any longer for guidance, or even condemnation. For the first time in fifteen hundred years, Europe is a continent without a moral authority. It becomes the duty of the only body which has, however unworthily, challenged the absolute power of the State, to devote itself to the slow and painful task of filling that void.

To reconstitute a moral authority—that must be the pacifist aim. We may thank the Resistance leader for giving us the words in which to express it: Our people fought for England, for a new England... today, if there is to be a scramble for advantages among the Powers, we will see to it, so far as lies in our ability, that England shall be the Christ among the nations.

LETTERS

No fooling about conscription

RECENT improvements in the arts of war seem likely to render military conscription less necessary than hitherto.

With atomic energy, so much can be destroyed so quickly by so few that, for merely technical reasons, military conscription may already be outmoded, even in war-time. Even if this is true, it does not, of course, necessarily apply to conscription for industrial and civil defence purposes; but that is not likely to be imposed in peace-time in any case.

Nevertheless, I think that Laurence Housman is right in saying that "a continued acceptance of war on a totalitarian scale (and therefore of preparation for it) as an eventual possibility, makes conscription a logical necessity" (or at least a psychological one) and that "acceptance of war now means acceptance of conscription": for two reasons.

First, that most rulers (and all war-mongering governments) have always wanted to keep their subjects under their thumb; and conscription is a first-rate device for doing so.

Secondly, for a long time to come (at least until the first "atomic war" occurs) governments will think that peace-time conscription will strengthen their hand in war, even if it won't.

Truly, "only on the basis of abolition of war can the nation have any right to think that it can get rid of conscription."

H. A. J. MARTIN.

23 De Freville Avenue,
Cambridge.

Industrialism and decadence

May I assure Donald Port that my figures are not inaccurate, and express my regret that he did not answer my questions.

May I also add that I do not apologize for regarding the collapse of Western civilization as essentially a moral and spiritual collapse, nor for associating it with modern industrialism. That is the issue I want Donald Port to face.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Ideal and real

THE fusion of two contradictory principles is of the essence of a fully integrated personality. John Middleton Murry possesses that integration or balance and therefore he is looked at askance by us lesser lights.

The contradictions meet at the breaking-point of the conflict between the ideal and the real.

The Ideal of JMM says do this and the world will be saved. Out of this is born his pacifism. The Real in JMM then says, as you refuse to accept the ideal what is the best that can be done under the circumstances? And so he offers us a Byzantine peace in Europe under Hitlerian hegemony; or, he offers us peace under the terror of the atom-bomb.

It is the old story that if you cannot live by love then you must live by law. Otherwise, you sink into the condition of a people helplessly scattered and preyed upon by marauders of the Al Capone type. But law means force, as space means time.

As a police surgeon the conflict is ever before me, in practice as it is before JMM on the political and international plane.

(Dr.) J. C. JONES.

109, South Norwood Hill, S.E.25.

War - happy

I write to express appreciation of the Editorial in your issue dated Sept. 14 and to add a few comments of my own.

A point used to be made by opponents of war that it was politicians and kings who were responsible for wars foisted upon unenthusiastic peoples. I no longer believe that today. The "people" is largely responsible for nourishing and sustaining war. It appears to be a human state which many of them enjoy. The only opposition I have heard to the late war was that military bands were not made sufficient use of!

The average human being seems to revel in uniforms, coloured ribbons, etc., and, if necessary, will commit hari-kiri to indulge in them. They know not why wars are started and care less. The recent war started to the accompaniment of references to Poland and the danger of Nazi regimentation. Comment is not necessary on these matters. So long as the explosion of the final atom-bomb is accompanied by a dance in the camp and there are plenty of coloured ribbons promised, the members of the human race in the western world will die happy.

N. HOLLIDAY.

164 Ewell By-Pass Road,
Ewell, Surrey.

Out of the pit

As a regular reader of "Peace News" and the acting-National Secretary of the Bevin Boys Release Movement, I would like to appeal for the support of your paper in aid of our campaign for release from the pits. It is well known that your paper and its supporters have always championed the cause of minorities and we feel sure that you will regard our struggle for release from the restrictions of the Bevin Scheme as one to be supported by all lovers of personal freedom. We shall be happy to give you any further particulars you may require.

L. S. BAKER.

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● The PPU have offered their column this week to the
No Conscription Council

ONE CLEAR TASK

AFTER six years of war most of us have come almost to expect the worst. And so today we hear, too often, that conscription has come to stay, and that we must accept the inevitable.

I do not believe this. Conscription is one of the most definite issues before us. It is a system that invades almost every home. Unless our movement is really determined to overthrow it, we shall prove ourselves to have been more concerned with our own interests as conscientious objectors than with the evil of conscription itself, which prostitutes youth to war and hands on militarism from generation to generation.

The atom bomb has made the whole paraphernalia of warfare outmoded, and vast armies have at a stroke become obsolete. At first sight any military case for conscription has disappeared. Yet General Eisenhower wants American conscription for the sake of "psychological indoctrination and moral training." "Through it," he has written, "is obtained battlefield discipline, esprit, an understanding of the basic justice of the fight the country is waging."

The danger of continued conscription is shown also by the recent T.U.C. decision that it "does not object in principle to a revised National Service Act... for a limited period." Yet we need not be too much dismayed, for the T.U.C. "cannot unconditionally approve a system of compulsory military service after the end of the war with Japan without assurances" that, from their nature, are never likely to be given. The report of the General Council was not by any means clear and was possibly drafted to meet the known opposition of some members of the Council. Their spokesman claimed that they maintained their traditional opposition to conscription.

The fight against conscription is far from being a lost cause. A PPU resolution sent to all Labour MPs showed that many are opposed to permanent military conscription. The Daily Express (Oct. 1) reckons that only 48 per cent., in a sample poll of the public, now want peace-time conscription, as against 65 per cent. a year ago.

The No Conscription Council, of which the PPU is a constituent body, seeks to unite all who oppose conscription. It believes that it can do so even more effectively now that the Minister of Labour has declared against continuing industrial conscription, so that the struggle is really confined to military conscription.

The Council looks forward to the same encouragement and backing from the rank and file PPU membership as it has received from Headquarters. We have a great job to do, in publishing literature, holding meetings and influencing public opinion in every possible way for the ending of conscription. We must see that we are equal to the task.

A. JOE BRAYSHAW.

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

The accounts for the recent PPU Summer School at Spiceland show success in the financial, as well as the other, realms. As a result of the week rather more than £10 surplus will be made over to PPU funds, John Barclay reports.

A three-fold mission for Britain — whatever the 'Giant Powers' do

AT present the universal adoption of the necessary new social mind in response to the challenge of atomic energy was really out of the question. This was the conclusion of John Middleton Murry in opening the National Peace Council's Conference in London last week-end on "The United Nations and the Future Peace." He went on:

"What seems to me terribly important is that the necessary advance should be made where it can: that a new behaviour pattern should be manifest somewhere. And here it seems to me this country has a clear moral and historical mission.

"First, to carry through the domestic advance into democratic socialism;

"Second, to organize and inspire a close voluntary association of the Western European democracies—something that may grow quickly into a federation of democratic socialist nations;

"Third, to transcend all that remains of our own imperialism and to transform the Empire into a genuine Commonwealth.

"All these must be done simultaneously. They are, in fact, involved in each other. What is certain is that none of them will be achieved if Britain attempts to compete in power with the two colossi."

Mr. Murry analysed the failure of mankind to meet the successive challenges of oil and coal. Those failures had produced the First and Second World wars. In the crucial year of 1938 the new social mind seemed at times to be struggling to be born. It was not born, and we were creeping out of the Six Years War with the old mind—the mind that could not jump.

This third challenge was not even commensurable with the previous two. The disintegration of two pounds of matter could now produce as much energy as the total coal and oil power available in a year. There was no rational evidence for believing that man would trust his fellow man rather than perish.

"All that can be urged against that seeming inevitability of doom," said Mr. Murry, "is one's instinctive half-faith that when the incommensurable magnitude of the new challenge is realized, the human mind must; human behaviour must change." Yet a revolutionary and peaceful change in nations—and all nations—was inconceivable.

The major dynamic forces today were American economic pressure and Russian political pressure, pressures exerted by nations of unprecedented size and power, belonging properly to a new order of social organization. Both were working hard to prevent the creation of a new and morally better grouping in Western Europe—USA because it hindered her economic expansion; Russia because it prevented her political expansion.

The Americans burked the enormous political responsibility for enforcing world peace. The Russians, with eager Communist parties available, were the better prepared for that. At least they had a plan. The Americans pursued self-contradictory purposes. They wanted economic anarchy—and also world peace. They saw no reason why they should not emulate the Britain of the 19th Century but they boggled at paying the British price—to be a free trade country, and to take political responsibility.

If universal fear of the atom-bomb were to prevent open war, while the causes of war remained, what could happen? War had served a conscious purpose—of devoting the world's power to doing on a large scale what unemployed men had done on a small scale during the slump: of digging holes in order to fill them up again. Beyond this, war had enabled changes to be made between nations—it was the world's rough justice in a totally non-moral sense. That function could only be replaced (as it had been internally) by the discovery and acceptance of principles of world law.

Without that, there would be second-class wars on the fringes of the new spheres. If full war was impossible, the effect might well be (like the animals in a Pavlov experiment) to drive the patient with the conditioned reflex mad. The moral challenge was palpable: to pass beyond individualistic nationalism.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford asked "What is Security?" In the dictionary of tomorrow it might be defined as a phantom of the pre-atomic age. The Charter drawn up at San Francisco, having been produced in the last days of innocence, before the Atomic Age began, was now obsolete. If any of the statesmen had confidence in their charter, the end of Hiroshima must have dispelled their illusions. The old ideas of strategy had been shattered. The safety of armies and navies would now lie in dispersal!

When the Charter was drawn up, it offered a reasonable degree of security against disarmed enemies, and against any small state that might turn rogue, as long as none of the Great Powers supported it. But it provided no means by which the will of a Great Power for domination or oppression could be broken.

POWER ENHANCED

The discovery of the Atomic Bomb enhanced the power of the Great Powers, especially the United States, which was momentarily omnipotent. A new era of fears and suspicions of defensive measures and preventive attack had dawned. Man's only hope of survival lay in world government. Fear was avowedly a bad counsellor, but there were other incentives. The discovery of atomic power promised benefits as well as dangers. World government would ensure use of atomic energy, so that each one from Eskimo to Kaffir, should look to the world authority for the energy that warmed his house, propelled his ships and baked his bread. This would ensure a loyalty akin to the loyalty men felt for their motherland.

There was no security short of world unity. Atomic power might be an irresistible weapon for the new World Guard. It made national disarmament a welcome step. In time the benefits which atomic power could confer would moreover bring man to forget the threat it contained. Thus the transition could be made from the age of power to that of the world-wide welfare state.

October 12, 1945, PEACE NEWS—3

The eleventh

Dick Sheppard anniversary gathering

will be held at Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1, on Oct. 27, with the performance of a play to follow in the evening at the Cripplegate Theatre, Shoreditch. At Friends' House the programme will be:

3-4.15: Music and readings: Esther Hulbert, Austen Smith, Robert Thomson.
4.15-5.30: Tea (1s. 9d.) and opportunity for fellowship.
5.30-6.30: Meeting. Chairman: Donald Soper. Speakers: Alex Wood and Donald Port.

COs can meet informally in the CO FELLOWSHIP ROOM, 4.0 to 5.30 p.m. Arranged by the London Regional Board for COs.

The play "Gates of Mercy," by Bryan Anstey and Roy Walker, will be performed by the North London Players, at 7 p.m.

Seats (numbered and reserved) 1s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d. Tickets available at PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4; and London Area PPU, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. Requests for hospitality to London Area Office by Oct. 15. Tickets are not required for the meetings at Friends' House: admission 1s.

JAPANESE PACIFIST KEPT FAITH

THE story of a Japanese pacifist who deliberately jettisoned his plane in a "kamikaze" (suicide) attack on Okinawa has been told by the senior chaplain to the US Tenth Army and is reproduced in the Conscientious Objector for September.

A lone Japanese plane flew into a hail of flak after a raid by other planes had ended, but banked off into the sea. The pilot waded ashore, where the Chaplain, together with a number of soldiers were gathered. He made for the Chaplain, pointed to the cross on the latter's uniform and then to his own heart.

When an interpreter arrived it was learned that the pilot was a Christian convert who had spent two years in jail for refusal to fight. Ultimately he was faced with the alternative of training as a pilot or of being executed. He trained.

The Okinawa attack was his first mission, and, true to his vow not to "commit murder against my fellow Christians" he had lagged behind and come in alone at great risk. After the war, he said, he wanted to return to Japan to train as "a Christian missionary to my people."

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY. LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION NEEDED. Any lady seeking accomdn., West End flat plus friendship in return for services. Remuneration given or taken. Phone: Western 6798.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

RUSHMORE Guest House, Selsey. Home comfort. Ideally situated. Caters for conferences and group meetings during off season. Write Victor Smith (Manager for Stephen Stoner & Co. Ltd.).

EDUCATIONAL SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 6s.; classes 1s. 6d. Diffident, nervous, and hesitant people specially helped, also stammerers. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

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FOR SALE & WANTED

SUPER-GRADE Strawberry plants offered at 18s. per 100; 10s., 50; 5s. 6d., 25; 3s., 12. Crge. pd. Haines Bros., Nurseryman, 6 Pensons Gdns., St. Ebbes, Oxford.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

"BURLS" the conscientious cycle maker, for your new cycle. Frame repairs, wheelbuilding, gear service and accessories. 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. New Cross 4129.

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SUFFOLK. Tudor farm hse., modernised, redecor., ideal guest hse., 2 large rec., 3 dble. bed., small dress rm., lge. cupboards, bathrm., r. h. and c. water from main supply, electricity and power being installed. Gothic barn, garage, exceptionally gd. outbldgs., modern drainage, 26 acres of level land, market gdn., pigs and calf rearing, etc. Price £3,250. Mortgage if requd. Box 163.

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WANTED TWO books by Ross: "Foundations of Ethics," "The Right and the Good." Offers to: 24 Rayners Ln., S. Harrow, Middx.

WANTED. Hand prntg. machine, Adana or similar. Send specimen of wk. details and price requd. Box 164.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

FREEMASONRY, as seen in relation to the Christian faith. 100-page book by Rev. Penny Hunt, B.A., 2s. 6d. From Prophecy League, 21 Poplar Gve., New Malden, Surrey.

MEETINGS, &c.

PUBLIC MEETING. Tues., Oct. 16, 7.30 p.m., Victoria Hall, Greenwich (opposite Calvert Rd. Schl.). Spkrs: Alex Wood, M.A., D.Sc., and Fred Messer, M.P. Subject: "World Unity or World Destruction."—N.P.C. and Blackheath P.P.U.

LONDON FORUM public lecture. W. W. Coupe, "Intention and the Sacrifice of Melchizedek." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, Oct. 15, 7.30.

COME AND HEAR Dr. A. D. Bel-den and Reginald Sorensen, M.P. at The Adult Schl. Hill, Park Lane, Croydon, Wed., Oct. 17, at 7.45 p.m. Chairman: Rev. George Parkinson. Fellowship of Reconciliation, Sth. London Area.

BRISTOL, 3 p.m., Sat., Oct. 20, Friends Meeting Hse., Broadweir. Spker: Joe Brayshaw, followed by a social evening.

ALLIANCE HALL, Palmer St., S.W.1, on Sun., Oct. 28, 2 p.m. People's Peace Crusade mtg. Chair: Corder Catchpool. Speakers: Bryan Anstey, Roger Page.

TAUNTON PEACE GROUP. All C.O.s in district cordially invited to a Reunion at Friends' Meeting Hse., Bath Pice., Sat., Oct. 27 at 6 p.m.

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YOUR PERSONAL Horoscope. Send date and place of birth (hour, if possible) with stamped addressed envelope and p.o. 1s. towards cost to Mr. A. W. Pole, The British Astrologer, BCM/AWPA, London, W.C.1, who will send you his personal reading of your life that will amaze you.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL. Thanks to translators! More volunteers wanted! There are now 33 members of the P.P.U. giving the W.R.I. tremendous service in translating. We are overworking our staff. If you can help, please write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H. C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for parties to Sec., L. and H. C. C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

CATHOLIC Cttee. for Relief Abroad. We are shortly opening a 2ndhand bkshp. at 28 Knightsbridge, S.W.1, in aid of European Relief Wk. All kinds of bks. are urgently needed. Pl. send however few. Pacifist lit. welcomed.

CAN anyone help yng. mother find happy home for baby boy 7 wks. old? Box No. 165.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

REQUIRED now or in Jan. two Asst. Mistresses for the Kindergarten and Junior Schl. Large Co-educational Day Schl. in the London area. Residence available in the schl. Exp. and personality as important as high qualifications. Salary in relation to exp. and quals. Apply: Box 166.

COMPOSITOR wtd. for printers of Peace News. Apply: Clifford Prntg. Co., 12b Manor Rd., London, N.16.

MANAGING DIRECTOR for Peace News, Ltd. Gen. administrative ability, exp. of publicity and circulation methods. Some prntg. and production knowledge an asset but not essential. Pacifist. Applns. or enqurs. to Sec., Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED COMMON LAW Solicitor, A.R.C.O., aged 35, married, two children. Engaged in legal office sks. empymnt. of greater service to community. Strthn. counties preferred. Box 167.

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Why not Western Trusteeship?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

the countries of Eastern Europe is another. They are not on the same plane. The one is a violation of elementary humanity; the other, at worst, a disregard of Western conceptions of democracy which can be justified on the ground that those conceptions have no validity when applied to the illiterate and poverty-stricken masses of Eastern Europe. The question is not whether the Russian conception of democracy is true or false compared to the Western one; but which is more relevant to the essential job of radical revolution in Eastern Europe.

Camouflaging corruption

It is pretty clear by now that Western conceptions of democracy are impracticable in Eastern Europe. After all, Rumania was a nominal democracy for years; so was Hungary. Under that facade of democracy corrupt and oppressive plutocracies ground down the peasants and battered on their poverty. The time for planting and watering genuine democracy in the Balkan countries was after the last war. Then Britain and France used their influence and power in putting the corrupt plutocracies into the saddle again and repressing every effort towards popular emancipation.

It is no use talking Balkan democracy now. Russia has no belief in it, and Russia is determined to break the power of the plutocracies for ever by carrying through a radical agrarian revolution. If the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the criterion, the peoples of Eastern Europe will be better off in a Russian "co-prosperity sphere" than they were under their old regimes, or than they would be likely to be under any political system approved by Britain or USA.

East of Vienna

THE further East one goes the more justified Russian policy becomes. The Times (Oct. 6) has an article on conditions in Persia which leaves any candid reader with the impression that, as ever in the middle and far East, nationalism in Persia is mainly the slogan of a corrupt and tyrannical ruling class, and a camouflage for interests of foreign capitalism.

Who can deny that the Persian people need protection against a corrupt and inefficient administration? Who can deny that a succession of Persian parliaments has passed no legislation that can possibly hurt the wealthy classes or that has really benefited the country? Who can assert that Persia is even the feeblest shadow of a democracy, or likely ever to become one without a complete and most improbable change of heart in the ruling class? There is much that is rotten in the state of Persia. Those who would do something cannot, and those who could do something will not.

That indictment of the Persian ruling class, though it is not intended to do so, really supplies a moral justification for Russia's determination to maintain her influence in the Northern provinces. In such a country Russian power, however harsh, is liberative.

The "better" imperialism

IN respect of the vast world which begins east of Vienna and ends on the Pacific coast of Asia, Russian influence and Russian power comes as a force of liberation—a promise of industrialization without exploitation. And it is very important that those who object as passionately as I do to Russian influence when it is applied to disintegrating Western Europe should recognize this: lest our criticism of Russia play into the hands of those who, professing concern for democracy, are really concerned to defend the plutocratic imperialisms—political and economic—which have their headquarters in the Western democracies.

What has to be defended against Russia is the idea of true democracy, which is now under the necessity of developing into the idea of non-violent social revolution: if not, it will perish. Social democracy is utterly incompatible with Imperialism. And the Western democracies have very little time to lose in repudiating their Imperialisms, in deed and word. If they continue to be associated with the Imperialism of capitalist exploration, Russia will have good cause for her cynicism about Western democracy, and their colonial empires will come to a swift and sticky end.

THE now obvious danger is that Britain, in her desire to hold together the Western European nations, will become the defender of French and Dutch Imperialism, together with her own. The danger has become acute in French Indo-China, and in the Dutch East Indies. These are imperial possessions of countries which, in the present constellation of power, are no longer capable of exercising empire unaided. Under the Japanese occupation the Annamese and Indonesians were given independence which, although customarily described as nominal, was a great deal more independent than anything they had known under the French or the Dutch. The French and the Dutch have no troops available for reoccupation of these resentful territories; the Americans, on principle, will not allow their troops to be used for the purpose. So it falls to Britain, and to a Labour Government, to do the dubious job; which she cannot refuse to do without mightily offending neighbours upon whom she depends for the formation of a closer association of West European nations.

There is the problem. It is a very serious one indeed. But let us not pretend that it can be solved by the enunciation of some abstract and ideal principle.

A joint step forward

THE only right solution is that Britain, France and Holland should get together immediately and proclaim a common policy of trusteeship for their colonial possessions. We should be fools to assume that the nationalist movements in Indo-China or Indonesia are of particularly high quality, or capable of efficient self-government. Nationalism is, to me, suspect everywhere; and nowhere more suspect than in the middle and far East, where it is generally the camouflage by which the native exploiter substitutes himself for the foreign one.

It is the plain duty of the democracies to protect the native against all exploitation, whether by his fellow-citizens or themselves. Unless the democracies of Western Europe are prepared to act as incorruptible trustees for the interests of the native populations, their colonial possessions will quickly become a source not of profit, but of disaster to them. A joint Colonial Charter, pledging themselves to assist their subject peoples to Dominion status and to educate them without delay into the capacity for self-government, is really a necessary condition of a closer association of the Western European democracies.

Balanced judgment

I HAVE wandered round the world in trying to reach a balanced judgment on Russian policy. It is that Russian policy in Eastern and SE Europe, and thence throughout Asia, cannot honestly be condemned. If it is Imperialism, it is a better Imperialism than any Western Europe has to offer; and will, eventually, destroy Western Imperialism, unless that undergoes a revolutionary change into something as beneficial to the underdog as Russian Communism still is.

Russian policy towards Germany and Western Europe is an outrage. But even there, it can be defended by the ruthless realists of the Kremlin so long as Western Europe is the headquarters of the Imperialism of colonial exploitation. If West European union—to which opinion is now turning so rapidly—is a union for the defence of a corrupt Imperialism, then it deserves all the vituperation which Russia is heaping on it; and the apparent determination of Russia to weaken Western Europe to the uttermost and leave it to putrify can be defended. It is a fearful policy: but Western Europe can protest against it with justice only if it prepared to give up, quickly and once for all, its evil habit of maintaining its standard of life by the abject poverty of the subjects of its Empires—British, French, Dutch, Belgian.

Words of Peace—No. 146

Reputation? That's man's idol, Set up against God, the Maker of all Laws, Who hath commanded us we shall not kill, And yet we say we must, for Reputation! What honest man can either fear his own, Or else will hurt another's reputation? Fear to do base unworthy things is valour; If they be done to us, to suffer them is valour too.—BEN JONSON.

'Peoples' Peace Crusade Notes

FROM CARLISLE TO LONDON

The general scheme of the Crusade as drawn up by Public Action Committee and endorsed by the National Executive contemplated a series of meetings starting in the north of England and continuing down to London over a series of eight days. This scheme was enthusiastically taken up by the groups at the key places suggested. Preliminary arrangements for the tour have now been completed and the following programme fixed.

Sun., Oct. 28—Newcastle: Speakers—Patrick Figgis, Stuart Morris. Carlisle: Sybil Morrison.
Mon., Oct. 29—Leeds: Speakers—Sybil Morrison, Bryan Anstey. York: Donald Port, Stuart Morris.
Tues., Oct. 30—Manchester: Speakers—Winifred Rawlins, Bryan Anstey. Preston: Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris.
Wed., Oct. 31—Sheffield: Speakers—Sybil Morrison, Bryan Anstey, Huddersfield: Winifred Rawlins, Stuart Morris.
Thurs., Nov. 1—Nottingham: Speakers—Sybil Morrison, Bryan Anstey. Leicester: Stuart Morris.
Fri., Nov. 2—Coventry: Speakers—Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris.
Sat., Nov. 3—Birmingham: Speakers—Stuart Morris.
Sun., Nov. 4—London, Friends' House: Speakers—Dame Sybil Thorndike, Lady Parmoor, Stuart Morris. Hyde Park: Crusade speakers.

In addition to these meetings the London Area have arranged a meeting in the Alliance Hall on Sun., Oct. 28, at 3 p.m. as a symbol of the corporate nature of the Crusade which will thus, as it were, be starting simultaneously at both ends. The speakers at this meeting will be Corder Catchpool (chair), Bryan

A LEAD FROM THE TOWER

At Sybil Morrison's usual PPU meeting on Tower Hill on Monday last a member of the audience which heard her speak on the practical peace-making of "Save Europe Now" passed round the hat.

The immediate response to this spontaneous gesture from the crowd: £5 12s.

Anstey and Roger Page. This meeting should form a rallying point for London Area members and their friends who are going to take part in the Crusade subsequently.

The meeting on Nov. 4 will be more in the nature of a public meeting and we are hoping that it will be possible to announce other well-known additional speakers. This is only the opening of a Crusade which we contemplate maintaining over several weeks, within which it is hoped that meetings will be arranged in the South and West of England as well as in Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

We feel sure that we can rely on readers to note the meeting which is nearest to them, so as to arrange to give the Crusade the help of their presence if at this stage they are not able to promise more.

Anyone who can offer help in the way of poster, parades, leaflet distribution, press publicity, etc., will be at once put into touch with the nearest organizer if he will write to the Secretary of the Public Action Committee, Dick Sheppard House, Ensligh St., London, W.C.1.

4th COURT-MARTIAL SENTENCE AWAITED

ANOTHER CO has been court-martialled for a fourth time—the nineteenth in this war. At Prestatyn Camp, North Wales, on Oct. 4, Anthony Russe, a 23-year-old London man, was charged with refusing to put on uniform.

He appeared in his civilian clothing even though he had been arrested and taken to his Unit as far back as Dec., 1943, and, except for a few weeks, had been continuously in confinement since. Having served 98 days' hard labour, six months' imprisonment and 18 months' imprisonment, he was released from Strangeways Prison, Manchester, on Sept. 5; the fourth court-martial followed.

Sentence upon Anthony Russe, who was defended by a solicitor instructed by the CBCO, will be promulgated later.

All are asked to join in the celebrations of CO Fellowship Week (Oct. 20-27) when meetings and socials will be held in different parts of the country to emphasise the unity of the CO Movement and to deepen the sense of fellowship within the Movement. If you want to be put in touch with arrangements in your district, you should write to the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

"SAVE EUROPE'S CHILDREN"

UNDER this title Save the Children Fund are holding a public meeting, with the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday, Oct. 19, at 7 p.m.

Gerald Barry, editor of the News Chronicle, will take the chair, and admission is free.

For the meeting, Dr. Howard Kershner, who is chairman of Save the Children's Overseas Committee, will be flying from Paris to give a first-hand report of his October tour in Norway, Holland, Belgium and France.

Mr. Victor Gollancz will speak on starvation in Germany and the possibilities of British aid this winter, and Roy Walker, author of "Famine Over Europe," will survey the general situation.

Jack Cowling

TO our great regret J. W. Cowling, the assistant-editor of Peace News, has left the staff. His place has been filled by Howard Whitten. Jack Cowling—to give him his more familiar name—has been on the staff of Peace News from the very beginning: first, as a sub-editor, then as circulation manager, and finally as assistant-editor. Although he had intended to leave last spring, he generously remained at his post during the editor's enforced absence in hospital.

His going is a serious loss to Peace News. No editor could wish for a more loyal colleague, or a more alert and efficient assistant. By his departure, too, the gaiety of the editorial staff suffers a more than partial eclipse.

J. M. M.

PUBLIC MEETING

Daylight Inn, Petts Wood
Thursday, Nov. 15 at 8 p.m.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

Some hospitality available. Write: Roger Richmond (PPU Group Sec.), 20 Oakdene Rd., Orpington, Kent

THE WAR RESISTER No. 50

(Bulletin of the War Resisters' International)

Contains recent information of the Movement in Europe
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